

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04285 01 OF 04 080302Z

61/43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN NY

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LUSKKA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 PRETORIA 4285

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 6 ADDED)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF

SUBJ: SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY REVIEW

1. SUMMARY: SIX MONTHS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE EMBASSY PREPARED A POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA (A-57, MARCH 20, 1975). DURING THIS PERIOD THE GRAND DESIGN OF SAG STRATEGY FOR ADJUSTING TO CHANGES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS EMERGED MORE CLEARLY. IN ITS FOREIGN RELATIONS, THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN SIGNIFICANT NEW INITIATIVES TO COMPENSATE FOR THE LOSS OF FORMER PORTUGUESE-CONTROLLED BUFFER AREAS. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, IT HAS PUT INTO
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PAGE 02 PRETOR 04285 01 OF 04 080302Z

EFFECT, OR PROMISED TO CONSIDER, A VARIETY OF STEPS DESIGNED

TO REDUCE RACIAL GRIEVANCES. BY MAKING PERIPHERAL CONCESSIONS ON RADICAL ISSUES AND USING THE SECURITY APPARATUS TO KEEP A TIGHT GRIP ON POTENTIAL SOURCES OF TROUBLE AT HOME, VORSTER SEEKS TO KEEP THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA WITHIN THE CONFINES OF BASIC NATIONALIST PARTY DOGMA. NONE OF THE MEASURES INTRODUCED BY THE SAG IN RECENT MONTHS, AS WELCOME AS THEY ARE, CONSTITUTE ANY BASIC CHANGE IN THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON RACIAL ISSUES. WE DO NOT RECOMMEND ANY CHANGE IN OUR POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA BUT SUGGEST SEVERAL COURSES OF ACTION WITHIN THE PRESENT POLICY FRAMEWORK. END SUMMARY.

NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PERCEPTIONS

2. THE EVENTS OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE SHARPENED SOUTH AFRICAN AWARENESS THAT THE OLD VERWOERDIAN ORDER MUST CHANGE IF SOCIAL PEACE IS TO BE MAINTAINED. IN PART THIS IS DUE TO THE GROWING PUBLIC REALIZATION THAT SOUTH AFRICA NO LONGER SITS BEHIND A COMFORTABLE BUFFER ALONG ITS NORTHERN FRONTIERS. THE EMERGENCE OF A MARXIST STATE IN MOZAMBIQUE, THE THREAT OF CIVIL WAR ALONG RACIAL LINES IN RHODESIA, THE VIOLENCE IN ANGOLA WITH THE DANGER OF A MPLA TAKE-OVER ARE SPURRING NEW FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES. AT THE SAME TIME, CONCERN THAT HOSTILE GOVERNMENTS IN CONTIGUOUS COUNTRIES MIGHT ENCOURAGE BLACK OPPOSITION IN SOUTH AFRICA, A GROWING REALIZATION OF THE VULNERABILITY OF THE ECONOMY TO BLACK LABOR DISAFFECTION, THE NEED TO SHOW SOME PROGRESS FOR BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOR PURPOSES OF DIALOGUE WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, AND INCREASING SIGNS OF NON-WHITE GROUPS' WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE IN CONFRONTATION TACTICS OVER THE POLITICAL STATUS QUO ARE MOVING THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT TO MAKE ADJUSTMENTS IN DOMESTIC POLICIES AT A FASTER PACE THAN WOULD BE THEIR NATURAL INCLINATION.

3. A LOOK AT THE VORSTER FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES AND DOMESTIC ADJUSTMENTS SHOWS THAT THE OVERARCHING STRATEGY CONTINUES TO BE MAINTENANCE OF WHITE SUPREMACY AND ESPECIALLY OF AFRIKANER DOMINATION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE NATIONALISTS AT THIS STATE SEE NO NEED TO MAKE CHANGES IN FUNDAMENTALS. AS THE MAN WHO HOPES TO SUCCEED PRIME MINISTER VORSTER (MINISTER OF INTERIOR CONNIE MULDER) PUT IT TO THE AMBASSADOR, THERE WILL BE NO COMPROMISE WITH THE BASIC PREMISES OF THE PARTY. AS OUTLINED BY MULDER, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04285 01 OF 04 080302Z

THESE BASICS INCLUDE:

--MAINTENANCE OF "WHITE IDENTITY": THERE IS TO BE NO RELAXATION OF THE IMMORALITY ACT, MIXED MARRIAGES ACT, ETC., WHICH ENSURE THIS;

--EXCLUSIVE POLITICAL POWER: THERE IS TO BE NO SHARING OF POWER WITH COLOREDS, ASIANS OR AFRICANS;

--LAW AND ORDER: SECURITY OF STATE IS UPPERMOST AND THERE IS TO BE NO TOLERATION OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.

4. IF OVERALL STRATEGY REMAINS UNCHANGED, THERE IS AN INTERESTING SHIFT OF TACTICS TAKING PLACE. THE SHIFT IS EVIDENT IN 3 AREAS:

--COMPENSATION FOR LOSS OF SECURE BUFFER AREAS WITH NEW FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES;

--BUILD-UP OF MILITARY STRENGTH AND ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY; AND

--REDUCTION OF RACIAL FRICTIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF APARTHEID (NOW EUPHEMISTICALLY CALLED "SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT").

FOREIGN POLICY

5. RHODESIA: WE BELIEVE VORSTER PLACES ACHIEVEMENT OF A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT AT THE TOP OF HIS FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES, ALTHOUGH HE IS NOT LIKELY TO PUSH SMITH ANY HARDER THAN CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE. (THE CURRENT UNPLANNED LEADERSHIP AND THE UNCERTAINTY OVER WHICH WING COMMANDS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO MAKE NEGOTIATIONS MEANINGFUL HAVE SLOWED THE PROCESS.) A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO SHARED POWER IN RHODESIA WOULD AVOID A BLACK-WHITE CIVIL WAR WITH ALL THE DIFFICULT CHOICES WHICH SUCH A CONFLICT WOULD BRING FOR THE SAG IN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICIES. A SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE TO MODERATE AFRIKANERS IN WHICH VORSTER PLAYS A KEY ROLE IS SEEN AS REINFORCING HIS EFFORTS IN DETENTE, EASING THE PRESSURE ON NAMIBIA, AND FACILITATING ACCEPTANCE OF TRANSKEI INDEPENDENCE. TO BRING ABOUT SUCH A SETTLEMENT, VORSTER WILL PROBABLY HAVE TO APPLY MORE PRESSURE ON SMITH THAN HE HAS TO DATE, PARTICULARLY THE CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC PRESSURE AT HIS DISPOSAL WHICH HE HAS SO FAR REFRAINED FROM
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 PRETOR 04285 01 OF 04 080302Z

USING. THERE IS AN UNDERSTANDABLE RELUCTANCE ON HIS PART TO USE THIS MUSCLE UNTIL THE PROSPECTS FOR REACHING A SOLUTION IMPROVE. HE WOULD FIND IT DISTASTEFUL TO RESORT TO MEASURES WHICH THE SAG CONDEMNS OTHERS FOR APPLYING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA AND HE MUST ALWAYS KEEP ONE EYE OPEN FOR ADVERSE AFRIKANERDOM REACTION. BUT IN THE END WE BELIEVE VORSTER WILL FIND THE RISKS OF INCREASED SAG PRESSURE ON SMITH PREFERABLE TO THE ALTERNATIVE OF RHODESIA SLIPPING TOWARD A CIVIL WAR WHICH WHITES CANNOT HOPE TO WIN. THE SHARP SOUTH AFRICAN REACTION TO SMITH'S RECENT CRITICISM OF VORSTER'S DETENTE EFFORTS IS A MEASURE OF THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE SAG ATTACHES TO DETENTE AND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN RHODESIA.

6. NAMIBIA: IN NAMIBIA THE SAG HAS STARTED TO MOVE THE TERRITORY TOWARD INDEPENDENCE BUT IS DETERMINED THAT THE PROCESS WILL TAKE

PLACE UNDER ITS AEGIS AND NOT THE UN'S. WE SENSE THAT THE SAG DOES NOT HAVE A SPECIFIC GAME PLAN BEYOND ALLOWING THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS TO TALK THE ISSUES OUT IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE. THE WHITS COMPONENT IS CONFIDENT OF ITS ABILITY TO GUIDE OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS TOWARD ARRANGEMENTS WHICH WILL ASSURE THE ESTABLISHED RIGHTS OF EACH GROUP AND MAINTAIN SWA'S CLOSE TIES WITH PRETORIA (PRETORIA 3718 AND A-185, OCTOBER 7, 1975). UNSURE HOW THE EXERCISE WILL WORK OUT, THE SAG HAS RESISTED SPELLING OUT THE DIFFERENT STAGES TOWARD INDEPENDENCE, INSISTING THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE TERRITORY MUST DECIDE THE SUBSTANCE AND MECHANICS FOR THEMSELVES. IN GETTING THE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS UNDER WAY, THE UAG CONSIDERS THAT IT HAS TAKEN A MAJOR STEP IN MEETING WORLD DEMANDS. LACK OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR ITS INITIATIVE AND THE COLD RECEPTION GIVEN THE SWA DELEGATION BY BOTH THE US AND THE UN HAS PRODUCED CONSIDERABLE RESENTMENT. THIS FEELING IS HEIGHTENED BY EVENTS IN NEIGHBORING ANGOLA. FOR SECURITY REASONS, THE SAG IS DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER A POSSIBLE MPLA TAKE-OVER IN ANGOLA AND CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY THE WESTERN COUNTRIES INSIST ON STEPS WHICH SAG IS CONVINCED WOULD PLUNGE SWA INTO AN ANGOLA-TYPE CIVIL WAR.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04285 02 OF 04 071929Z

43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 4 PRETORIA 4285

7. CONTACTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES: IN THE AREA OF IMPROVED CONTACTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, WE DETECT SOME SIGNIFICANT SHIFTS OF EMPHASIS. WITH THE UNITED STATES, THERE HAS BEEN A DECISION TO BE MORE AGGRESSIVE IN ANSWERING CRITICS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND IN PROJECTING A FAVORABLE IMAGE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AMBASSADOR BOTHA USED THE ROUTINE PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS CEREMONY TO LAUNCH THE CAMPAIGN AND HAS FOLLOWED IT UP PUGNACIOUSLY WITH RADIO AND TELEVISION APPEARANCES. THE RECENT PROTEST OVER A USIS RELEASE CRITICAL OF DETENTIONS UNDER THE TERRORISM ACT (PRETORIA 3848) AND PRIME MINISTER VORSTER'S OUTBURST ON THE MITCHELL STATEMENT IN THE UN--THE FIRST TIME TO OUR KNOWLEDGE THAT A SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER HAS TAKEN ON

THE USG SO DIRECTLY AND PUBLICLY--UNDERScore THE STRATEGY. WE ARE NOT SURE WHAT HAS CAUSED THIS SHIFT. ONE FACTOR IS VORSTER'S GROWING STRENGTH AT HOME AS HIS DETENTE EFFORTS SHOW INCREASING SIGNS OF SUCCESS.

8. VORSTER HAS DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE EFFORT IN RECENT MONTHS TO CULTIVATE BLACK AFRICAN STATES. SOUTH AFRICAN EMISSARIES HAVE TRAVELLED DISCREETLY TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES OFFERING TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, COUPLED WITH INSINUATIONS OF THE INEVITABILITY OF CHANGE IN ITS RACIAL POLICY. THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC HAS SHOWN INTEREST IN RECEIVING FURTHER SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE. PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAS PROPOSED DIALOGUE
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PAGE 02 PRETOR 04285 02 OF 04 071929Z

WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND SUGGESTED CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH HE WOULD LIKE TO SEND A DELEGATION OF MAGISTRATES TO SOUTH AFRICA TO EXPLORE THE CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATIONS. PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S WILLINGNESS TO SHARE THE SPOTLIGHT WITH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER DURING VICTORIA FALLS TALKS ON RHODESIA GAVE THE SOUTH AFRICANS A GREAT PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFT. THE VISIT OF IVORY COAST MINISTER OF INFORMATION DONA-FOLOGO WITH HIS FRENCH WIFE REPRESENTS A HIGH-VISIBILITY BREACH OF THE OAU QUARANTINE. IF RECENT REPORTS ARE TRUE THAT PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAS DECIDED TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PRETORIA AND HAS RECOMMENDED THAT OTHER AFRICAN STATES DO LIKEWISE, THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL HAVE SCORED A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH. THE FACT THAT IN THE UN AND THE OAU BLACK AFRICAN STATES CONTINUE TO PILLORY SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT DETER VORSTER FROM HIS DETENTE EFFORTS. AS HE SEES IT, THE GROWING INTEREST OF MORE GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN AID AND TRADE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RHETORIC AND RESOLUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.

9. TRANSKEI: ANOTHER AREA WHERE SOUTH AFRICA SEES AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE ITS IMAGE AND GAIN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKABILITY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IS IN THE TRANSITION OF THE TRANSKEI FROM HOMELAND TO SOVEREIGN STATE. WITH INDEPENDENCE NOW ANNOUNCED FOR OCTOBER 26, 1976, THE SAG IS ALREADY GEARING UP TO PERSUADE, CAJOLE, AND SHAME OTHER COUNTRIES INTO RECOGNIZING THE TRANSKEI. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH AMBASSADOR, FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER RECOGNIZED THE OBSTACLES WHICH THE TRANSKEI FACES IN GAINING ACCEPTANCE BUT AT THE SAME TIME EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT MORE GOVERNMENTS WOULD RECOGNIZE THE TRANSKEI THAN MIGHT NOW BE APPARENT. UNDETERRED BY RECENT UN ACTION ON THE HOMELANDS RESOLUTION, THE SAG BELIEVES THAT IN TIME THE TRANSKEI WILL ACHIEVE RECOGNITION, PARTICULARLY IF A SATISFACTORY SETTLEMENT IS ACHIEVED IN RHODESIA AND AS SWA MOVES FORWARD TOWARD INDEPENDENCE.

MILITARY PREPAREDNESS AND ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

10. WHILE SOUTH AFRICA PURSUES ITS DETENTE STRATEGY IN THE HOPE

THAT ONE OF THE BENEFITS WILL BE THE LESSENING OF THE THREAT OF SUBVERSION FROM NEIGHBORING STATES, IT IS DEVOTING A GREAT DEAL OF MONEY AND EFFORT TO STRENGTHENING ITS MILITARY DEFENSES AND IMPROVING ITS ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY. THE MILITARY BUDGET IS
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PAGE 03 PRETOR 04285 02 OF 04 071929Z

NOT RUNNING AT 948 MILLION RAND FOR 1975-76 (18.5 PERCENT OF THE NATIONAL BUDGET) AS COMPARED WITH 692 MILLION RAND (16.4 PERCENT) FOR 1974-75. ADDITIONAL HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS ARE BEING SPENT IN BUILDING UP UNDERGROUND OIL STORAGE FACILITIES, ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY, AND MAJOR INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS. IN LAUNCHING THE RECENT ANTI-INFLATION CAMPAIGN, THE GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE IS TO BE NO TRIMMING OF SECURITY REQUIREMENTS. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ALSO BEEN STRENGTHENING THEIR DEFENSES AGAINST INFILTRATION ALONG THE FRONTIERS OF MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA. WITH MOZAMBIQUE, THE SAG HAS WORKED OUT A MODUS OPERANDI COVERING OPERATIONS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT, BUT NOT KNOWING HOW LONG THE ARRANGEMENT WILL LAST, IT IS TAKING DISCREET MILITARY PRECAUTIONS ALONG THE FRONTIER AS A HEDGE AGAINST EVENTUALITIES. THE SAG IS DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT A MPLA TAKE-OVER IN ANGOLA. ANY MILITANTLY ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THERE--ESPECIALLY ONE SUPPORTED BY OUTSIDE COMMUNIST POWERS--PRESENTS A SECURITY THREAT WHICH COULD GREATLY COMPLICATE SOUTH AFRICA'S GAME PLAN TO BRING ABOUT THE FORMATION IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA OF AN INDEPENDENT STATE, ALBEIT SECURELY TIED TO PRETORIA. VORSTER, AS A RESULT, STRONGLY PREFERS TO SEE UNITA AND FNLA GAIN CONTROL OF ANGOLA. THE SAG IS ALSO BEGINNING TO ESTABLISH A PHYSICAL SECURITY ZONE IN SWA BY EVACUATING RESIDENTS NEAR THE FRONTIER, AND HAS MADE CLEAR ITS READINESS TO TAKE MILITARY ACTION AGAINST ANY RAIDING PARTIES BY ALREADY USING "HOT PURSUIT" TACTICS IN ANGOLAN TERRITORY AGAINST GUERRILLA INFILTRATION.

CHANGES ON DOMESTIC FRONT: RELAXATION AND REPRESSION

11. ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT, THE SAG IS NOW PUBLICLY SAYING THAT STEPS MUST BE TAKEN TO MOVE AWAY FROM RACIAL DISCRIMINATION WHERE AND WHEN THIS MAY BE REQUIRED. THIS IS A NEW ELEMENT IN NATIONAL PARTY THINKING WHICH HAS CREATED THE GREATEST AMOUNT OF DISCUSSION, AND NOT A LITTLE APPREHENSION, AMONG MANY WHITES. NATIONALIST DEFINITIONS OF WHAT IS DISCRIMINATION ARE STILL WOEFULLY INADEQUATE FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF MOST BLACKS AND INDEPENDENT OBSERVERS, BUT THE RECENT ADMISSION OF DISCRIMINATION DOES INDEED EXIST WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA AND SAG ASSERTIONS OF INTENT TO ELIMINATE IT HAVE ENCOURAGED A SENSE OF FERMENT WITHIN THE SOCIETY. THIS HAS YET TO PRODUCE ANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGES, BUT THE TALK AND THE ACCOMPANYING WILLINGNESS TO MAKE ADJUSTMENTS IN THE OLD ORDER IS AN ADVANCE. IN MAKING THESE CONCESSIONS,
CONFIDENTIAL
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PAGE 04 PRETOR 04285 02 OF 04 071929Z

THE SAG AT THE SAME TIME HAS BEEN AS DILIGENT AS EVER IN APPLYING A VERY HEAVY HAND AGAINST POLITICAL DISSIDENTS AND THOSE WHOM THEY PERCEIVE AS PRESENTING THE SLIGHTEST THREAT TO INTERNAL SECURITY. THE BOX SCORE ON RELAXATION AND REPRESSION MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

A. REDUCTION IN PETTY APARTHEID. SUCH MEASURES AS REPEAL OF THE MASTERS AND SERVANTS ACT, DESEGREGATION OF THE LUXURY BLUE AND DRakensberg TRAINS, LIFTING OF A FEW OF THE TRAVEL AND WORK RESTRICTIONS FOR INDIANS (EXCEPT IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND NORTHERN NATAL), REMOVAL OF APARTHEID SIGNS AT SELOTHO AND SWAZILAND BORDER POSTS AND ACCEPTANCE OF SOME NON-SHITE OFFICERS IN THE DEFENSE FORCE HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED AND PUT INTO EFFECT. A NEW LAW PERMITS HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS TO APPLY TO "INTERNATIONAL" STATUS, WHICH ENABLES THEM TO OPEN THEIR DOORS TO NON-WHITES. SEVERAL APPLICATIONS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MADE AND ARE PENDING APPROVAL. LITTLE PROGRESS IS EVIDENT ON THE PLEDGE TO LIBERALIZE THEATERS. ONLY THE NICO MALAN IS OPEN TO MIXED AUDIENCES, BUT TO MIXED CASTS ONLY BY SPECIAL PERMIT. IN OTHER THEATERS THERE IS SOME INCREASE OF AUTHORIZATIONS FOR MULTI-RACIAL AUDIENCES FOR SPECIFIC PERFORMANCES, BUT CONTROL REMAINS TIGHT.

B. CONCESSIONS TO URBAN BLACKS. ALL CONCESSIONS REAMIN IN THE PROMISE STAGE AWAITING EITHER IMPLEMENTING LEGISLATION OR PUBLICATION OF REGULATIONS. THESE INCLUDE 30-YEAR LEASEHOLD RIGHTS FOR URBAN BLACKS WITH THE RIGHT TO BEQUETH PROPERTY TO QUALIFIED PERSONS; LIFTING OF CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON BLACK BUSINESSES
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PAGE 01 PRETOR 04285 03 OF 04 071609Z

43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 PRETORIA 4285

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PAGE 02 PRETOR 04285 03 OF 04 071609Z

RESTRICTIONS FOR INDIANS (EXCEPT IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE AND NORTHERN NATAL), REMOVAL OF APARTHEID SIGNS AT SELOTHO AND SWAZILAND BORDER POSTS AND ACCEPTANCE OF SOME NON-SHITE OFFICERS IN THE DEFENSE FORCE HAVE BEEN ANNOUNCED AND PUT INTO EFFECT. A NEW LAW PERMITS HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS TO APPLY TO "INTERNATIONAL" STATUS, WHICH ENABLES THEM TO OPEN THEIR DOORS TO NON-WHITES. SEVERAL APPLICATIONS HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MADE AND ARE PENDING APPROVAL. LITTLE PROGRESS IS EVIDENT ON THE PLEDGE TO LIBERALIZE THEATERS. ONLY THE NICO MALAN IS OPEN TO MIXED AUDIENCES, BUT TO MIXED CASTS ONLY BY SPECIAL PERMIT. IN OTHER THEATERS THERE IS SOME INCREASE OF AUTHORIZATIONS FOR MULTI-RACIAL AUDIENCES FOR SPECIFIC PERFORMANCES, BUT CONTROL REMAINS TIGHT.

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PERSONS; LIFTING OF CERTAIN RESTRICTIONS ON BLACK BUSINESSES IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS; POSSIBLE RE-EXAMINATION OF THE 1949 LAW WHICH PREVENTS AFRICAN WOMEN FROM LIVING WITH THEIR HUSBANDS IN URBAN AREAS; AND, POTENTIALLY THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OF ALL, GIVING LEGAL STATUS TO WAGE CONTRACTS WITH BLACK WORKERS AND AUTHORIZING ESTABLISHMENT OF "INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES" TO BARGAIN ON AN INDUSTRY-WIDE BASIS. IT IS TOO EARLY TO TELL HOW THESE PROMISES WILL TRANSLATE INTO PRACTICE. BLACKS REMAIN SCEPTICAL, AS THEY HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOVERNMENT, AFTER ANNOUNCING LEASEHOLD RIGHTS, HAS SUBSEQUENTLY MADE THEM CONTINGENT ON THE APPLICANT HAVING, OR TAKING OUT, CITIZENSHIP IN A HOMELAND. THIS QUALIFICATION LIMITS THE ATTRACTIVENESS OF THE CONCESSION AND CONVERTS IT INTO A DEVICE FOR REINFORCING THE HOMELAND POLICY.

C. CONSULTATION WITHOUT PARTICIPATION. IN LINE WITH WHAT CONNIE MULDER TOLD THE AMBASSADOR, THE GOVERNMENT REMAINS ADAMANT AGAINST SHARING POLITICAL POWER NOT ONLY WITH BLACKS BUT ALSO WITH INDIANS AND COLOREDS. AS A SUBSTITUTE THE GOVERNMENT HAS OPENED A CAMPAIGN TO ACHIEVE GREATER CONSULTATIONS. MAGISTRATES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY HAVE BEEN ASKED TO FORM LOCAL COMMITTEES, WITH EQUAL NUMBER OF WHITE AND COLORED MEMBERS, TO INVESTIGATE AND ELIMINATE CAUSES FOR RACIAL FRICTION. VORSTER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04285 03 OF 04 071609Z

IS PRESSING THE COLORED PERSONS REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (CRC) TO JOIN IN CABINET LEVEL CONSULTATIONS BUT LABOR PARTY LEADER SONNY LEON INSISTS THAT ANYTHING SHORT OF RESTORING COLOREDS TO THE COMMON ROLL WITH DIRECT REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CRC ARE ON A COLLISION COURSE WHICH COULD RESULT IN THE GOVERNMENT BEING FORCED TO OUST THE LABOR PARTY FROM THE CRC AND ASSUMING CONTROL. THIS COULD BE A SERIOUS SETBACK TO ITS SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY. THE SAG HAS HAD SOME SUCCESS WITH A THIRD MEASURE: TO NAME NON-WHITES TO PUBLIC COMMISSION AND ADVISORY BODIES. ONE INDIAN AND ONE COLORED HAVE BEEN APPOINTED TO THE PRIME MINISTER'S ECONOMIC ADVISORY COUNCIL AND A FEW OTHER LESSER DESIGNATIONS HAVE BEEN MADE.

D. POLITICAL REPRESSION. THE SAG GIVES INCREASING SIGNS OF CONCERN OVER BLACKS ORGANIZING THEIR SUBSTANTIAL, IF LATENT, POWER TO BRING PRESSURE FOR CHANGE IN RACIAL POLICIES. THIS IS TRUE ON THE POLITICAL AS WELL AS LABOR FRONTS. IT APPLIES TO BLACK-LED MOVEMENTS AS WELL AS TO WHITE INDIVIDUALS AND AGENCIES WHICH ENCOURAGE THEM. THE GOVERNMENT MAKES LITTLE EFFORT TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNIST APPARATUS AT HOME AND ABROAD AND THE LEGITIMATE EFFORTS OF BLACK NATIONALISTS SEEKING PEACEFUL TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM. BOTH ARE VIEWED AS A THREAT TO THE ESTABLISHED ORDER AND ARE THEREFORE TREATED AS EQUALLY SUBVERSIVE. THE LEADERSHIP OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN

STUDENTS' ORGANIZATION AND THE BLACK PEOPLE'S CONVENTION AS WELL AS SEVERAL OTHER GROUPS WHICH ESPOUSE GENERALIZED CONCEPTS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND BLACK POWER HAVE FELT THE FULL WEIGHT OF SAG DISAPPROVAL. SINCE SEPTEMBER, 1974 OVER 100 YOUNG BLACKS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE TERRORISM ACT. SOME HAVE BEEN DETAINED WITHOUT CHARGES FOR PERIODS OF NEARLY A YEAR. OTHERS ARE ON TRIAL CHARGED WITH INCITING OR ENCOURAGING TERRORISM (SHICH THE SAG DEFINES EXCEEDINGLY BROADLY). STILL OTHERS HAVE BEEN BANNED, BANISHED OR OTHERWISE INTIMIDATED INTO SILENCE. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALSO TAKEN ACTION AGAINST DISSIDENT WHITE INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING CUTTING OFF ACCESS TO FOREIGN FUNDS FOR THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE AND NUSAS. WHILE VIGOROUSLY ENFORCING ITS SECURITY LAWS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS RECENTLY SHOWN SOME SENSITIVITY TO DOMESTIC PROTEST AND FOREIGN CONDEMNATION, AS REFLECTED IN THE DECISION TO ALLOW PARENTS OF ALL THOSE ARRESTED IN THE BREYTENBACH CASE (WHO ALL HAPPEN TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 PRETOR 04285 03 OF 04 071609Z

WHITE) TO VISIT THEM IN PRISON, AND IN MINISTER OF JUSTICE KRUGER'S PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT HENCEFORTH THE GOVERNMENT WILL MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO BRING PERSONS ARRESTED UNDER THE ACT TO TRIAL WITHIN THREE MONTHS AFTER DETENTION.
BOWDLER

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PRETOR 04285 04 OF 04 071629Z

43

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 4 OF 4 PRETORIA 4285

RECOMMENDATIONS

12. FROM THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS WE CONCLUDE THAT DESPITE SOME HOPEFUL SIGNS, THERE HAS BEEN NO BASIC CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES WHICH WOULD WARRANT CHANGE IN US POLICY. WHERE WE CAN, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO UTILIZE THE AVENUES FOR PROMOTING CHANGE WHICH ARE OPEN TO US, PUSHING THE OUTER LIMITS OF WHAT IS ACCEPTABLE WITH THE HOPE OF HELPING TO ACHIEVE FURTHER POSITIVE CHANGES. IN OUR JUDGMENT CURRENT US POLICIES CONTINUE TO REPRESENT A CAREFUL BALANCE OF OUR VARIOUS INTERESTS IN THIS COUNTRY. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST SIX MONTHS DOES SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT CERTAIN ACTIONS WITHIN OUR CURRENT POLICY FRAMEWORK COULD BE TAKEN TO CAPITALIZE ON THE GREATER, IF STILL LIMITED, FLEXIBILITY OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM.

REAFFIRM US POLICY.

A. A NEW FORTHRIGHT AND AUTHORITATIVE REAFFIRMATION OF POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA FROM A TOP-RANKING US OFFICIAL WOULD BE HELPFUL. IN RECENT MONTHS A NUMBER OF PROMINENT AMERICANS INCLUDING CONGRESSMEN AND FORMER HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS HAVE VISITED SOUTH AFRICA AND EXPRESSED VIEWPOINTS COMMONLY INTERPRETED IN THE MEDIA AS MORE TOLERANT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICIES THAN IS THE DEPARTMENT'S POSITION. THIS HAS LED TO THE MISCONCEPTION

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PRETOR 04285 04 OF 04 071629Z

THAT "THE STATE DEPARTMENT" IS UNDULY HARSH AND OUT OF TUNE WITH REAL POLICY MAKING ELEMENTS IN THE US, AND ALSO TENDS TO DISCOURAGE THE INCREASINGLY ARTICULATE BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS WHO ARE STRIVING FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE. UNWARRANTED DOUBTS ARE THUS RAISED AMONG BOTH GROUPS ABOUT THE SINCERITY OF OUR "ABHORRENCE OF APARTHEID".

B. ENCOURAGE SAG EFFORTS IN RHODESIA. THE SAG HAS AN IMPORTANT, IF NOT DECISIVE, ROLE TO PLAY IN PRESSURING SMITH TO REACH A MEANINGFUL AGREEMENT WITH BLACK LEADERS FOR SHARING POLITICAL POWER. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE VORSTER IN HIS EFFORTS, BOTH BECAUSE IT IS THE BEST WAY TO PROMOTE PEACEFUL CHANGE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND BECAUSE THE EXAMPLE OF SHARED POWER IN RHODESIA IS BOUND TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE FOR SUCH CHANGES IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE SECRETARY'S RECENT FAVORABLE MENTION OF VORSTER'S ROLE WAS GREATLY APPRECIATED IN SOUTH AFRICA. WHERE SOUTH AFRICA PLAYS A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, IN RHODESIA OR ELSEWHERE, WE RECOMMEND APPROPRIATE HIGH-LEVEL US RECOGNITION.

C. BLACK FSOS. WE VIEW THE ASSIGNMENT OF BLACK OFFICERS TO SOUTH AFRICA AS AN IMPORTANT, INTEGRAL ELEMENT IN CARRYING OUT

OUR POLICY, AND STRONGLY URGE THAT RECRUITMENT BE UNDERTAKEN FROM WITHIN OR OUTSIDE THE FOREIGN SERVICE. A BLACK OFFICER WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT ASSET IN PROVIDING GREATER ACCESS TO ELEMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WHICH ARE EITHER CLOSED TO OR SUSPICIOUS OF WHITES. BLACK AMERICANS COULD BE EFFECTIVE IN ANY OF SEVERAL FIELDS, BUT A BLACK POLITICAL/LABOR OFFICER WORKING WITHIN LABOR GROUPS WOULD BE PARTICULARLY USEFUL. SINCE THERE ARE SOME VERY REAL PSYCHOLOGICAL HARDSHIPS INVOLVED, WE BELIEVE THE DEPARTMENT SHOULD CONSIDER PROVIDING OFFSETTING SUPPORT IN THE FORM OF HARDSHIP ALLOWANCE, R&R OR PERHAPS SEPARATE MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCES. WE WILL DEVELOP THIS RECOMMENDATION FURTHER IN A SEPARATE MESSAGE.

D. TRAINING OF BLACK LABOR LEADERS. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF BLACK LABOR IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE GOVERNMENT'S EDGING IN THE DIRECTION OF RECOGNIZING THEIR RIGHT TO ORGANIZE AND BARGAIN COLLECTIVELY PERSUADES US THAT WE SHOULD DO MUCH MORE IN IDENTIFYING AND TRAINING POTENTIAL BLACK LABOR LEADERS. A SEPARATE PAPER WITH SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS IS IN PREPARATION AND WILL BE FORWARDED SUBSEQUENTLY.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PRETOR 04285 04 OF 04 071629Z

E. CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM. THE SAG IS NOT INSENSITIVE TO INTERNATIONAL CRITICISM, ESPECIALLY FROM THE US AND WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT, THROUGH PLANTED PRESS QUERIES, SPEECHES OR CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY WHICH WILL REACH PUBLIC MEDIA, VOICE CRITICISM OF FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN A TIMELY MANNER. PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIONS BY THE SAG (EG, THE SECRETARY'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF VORSTER'S ROLE IN RHODESIAN PEACE EFFORTS) REINFORCES THE IMPACT OF OUR CRITICISM. WE WILL POINT OUT SUCH OPPORTUNITIES AS WE PERCEIVE THEM IN THE FUTURE.

E. CCC CREDIT. WHILE UNDER EXISTING POLICY, EXIM DOES NOT FURNISH DIRECT CREDIT FOR SOUTH AFRICA, SUCH ASSISTANCE IS MADE AVAILABLE UNDER CCC ARRANGEMENTS. CONGRESSIONAL DELGATIONS VISITING SOUTH AFRICA IN RECENT MONTHS HAVE MADE SPECIAL NOTE OF THIS INCONSISTENCY. THERE MAY BE SPECIAL CONSIDERATION FOR MAKING OUR FARM CREDIT DIFFERENT FROM OUR INDUSTRIAL CREDIT. IF SUCH CONSIDERATIONS DO NOT EXIST, WE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT CCC CREDIT BE PUT ON THE SAME BASIS AS EX-IM.

F. TRANSKEI INDEPENDENCE. WE DISCERN SOME FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS REGARDING THIS ISSUE: GIVEN THE HISTORICAL STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE IN AFRICA, SOME AFRICANS (DESPITE THEIR STANCE IN THE UN AND OAU) MAY VIEW THIS AS A TEST OF SOUTH AFRICA'S WILLINGNESS ACTUALLY TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO THOSE WHO WANT IT. SOUTH AFRICAN OFFICIALS TEND IN MANY INSTANCES TO APPROACH IT IN THIS MANNER, EXPECTING WESTERN FRIENDS TO

RECEIVE INDEPENDENT TRANSKEI AS THEY WOULD ANY OTHER GROUP WHICH HAS ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE. IT ESCAPES THEM THAT MOST OTHERS VIEW THE PROCESS AS A STEP IN APARTHEID'S SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND ARE HESITANT TO SHOW ANY WILLINGNESS TO SUPPORT THE TRANSKEI LEST IT ENCOURAGE WHITE SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS A COMPLEX INTERPLAY OF CONSIDERATIONS. WE RECOMMEND AN EARLY STUDY OF THE SUBJECT WITH A VIEW TO DEVELOPING APPROPRIATE COURSES OF ACTION. THIS CAN BEST BE DONE BY THE DEPARTMENT. THE EMBASSY WILL BE HAPPY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE PROJECT IF THE DEPARTMENT WILL INDICATE WHAT DATA OR ASSESSMENTS WILL BE HELPFUL.

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